

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 CAIRO 11181 01 OF 02 200440Z  
ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01  
INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15  
ICA-11 IO-13 SSM-03 OMB-01 ACDA-12 EB-08 OES-07  
COME-00 TRSE-00 EUR-12 /130 W  
-----094106 201713Z /20

R 200426Z APR 78  
FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8162  
INFO AMCONSUL ALEXANDRIA  
AMEMBASSY AMMAN  
USINT BAGHDAD  
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS  
AMEMBASSY JIDDA  
AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM  
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV  
USMISSION SINAI

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 01 OF 02 CAIRO 11181

E.O. 11652: NA  
TAGS: EG  
SUBJECT: HAYKAL RENEWS ATTACK

REF: CAIRO 10685  
SUMMARY: AS PROMISED, FORMER AHARAM CHAIRMAN AND NASSER  
CONFIDANT HAYKAL HAD SECOND "INTERVIEW" IN APRIL 19  
EDITION LEFTIST WEEKLY AL-AHALI. HAYKAL AGAIN  
DEFENDED NASSER'S (AND HIS) ACTIVITIES AND CASTIGATED  
SADAT'S PEACE INITIATIVE AS LEADING TO DEAD END.  
CLAIMS KISSINGER'S NEFARIOUS OBJECTIVES HAVE ALL BEEN  
REALIZED. WHILE GOE HAS SURPRISED MANY BY ALLOWING  
HAYKAL TO CONTINF ATTACKS, WE EXPECT HE WILL BE UNDER  
INCREASING ATTACK FROM GUIDED PRESS. END SUMMARY.

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PAGE 02 CAIRO 11181 01 OF 02 200440Z

1. USA. HAYKAL REPEATED HIS TIME.WORN THESIS THAT USA  
MUST BE "NEUTRALIZED". U.S. HAS VITAL INTEREST IN MIDDLE  
EAST AND, WHILE THERE CONSIDERABLE CONGRUITY BETWEEN  
U.S. AND ISRAELI INTERESTS, THESE ARE NOT IDENTICAL AND  
EGYPT SHOULD TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THIS. IT "INESCAPABLE"  
FOR EGYPT TO CONFRONT USG BUT THIS MUST BE DONE WITHOUT  
VIOLENCE. AMERICA CAN BE "NEUTRALIZED" BY REDUCING

U.S. JUSTIFICATION FOR STRIKING ARABS DIRECTLY.

2. OCTOBER WAR. HAYKAL ALLEGED OCTOBER WAR WAS LOGICAL CONTINUATION WAR OF ATTRITION. IN 1973 EGYPTIAN ARMY PROVED ITS CAPABILITY WAGE MODERN WARFARE AND ISRAEL WAS SEVERELY STRAINED. THIS DEMONSTRATED BY FACT ISRAEL FORCED END GENERAL MOBILIZATION AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AFTER WAR TO PREVENT ECONOMIC COLLAPSE. OIL WEAPON RESULTED IN "PANIC STRICKEN" WESTERN EUROPE AND JAPAN; RELATIONS BETWEEN SUPERPOWERS WERE ON BRINK OF ABYSS; WHILE U.S. AS RESULT SOVIET WARNING REINED IN ISRAEL. FINAL OUTCOME, HAYKAL CLAIMED, WAS IN EGYPT'S INTEREST.

3. DISINTEGRATION. ARAB UNITY MADE POSSIBLE OCTOBER WAR, BUT BEGAN DISINTEGRATE IMMEDIATELY THEREAFTER, WITH DIFFERENCES BETWEEN EGYPT AND SYRIA. HAYKAL RECALLED INTERVIEW WITH KISSINGER, SHORTLY AFTER OCTOBER WAR, IN WHICH FORMER SECRETARY TOLD HIM U.S. GOALS WERE TO GUARANTEE ISRAELI SECURITY, OUST SOVIET UNION FROM MIDDLE EAST, GUARANTEE FLOW OF OIL AND DEAL WITH EACH ARAB COUNTRY SEPARATELY. HAYKAL NOTED HE "FELT TERRIFIED" TO REALIZE ALL OF THIS HAS HAPPENED.

4. PEACE INITIATIVE. HAYKAL RIDICULED SADAT'S PEACE INITIATIVE, WHICH ADDRESSED AT OVERCOMING PSYCHOLOGICAL BARRIERS. ISRAEL, HE SAID, HAS EXPANSIONIST AMBITION LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 03 CAIRO 11181 01 OF 02 200440Z

TO CONTROL AND INTIMIDATE AREA. THIS IS NOT PSYCHOLOGICAL PROBLEM, NOR CAN IT BE SOLVED BY PUBLIC RELATIONS ACTS. DEMONSTRATION OF GOOD INTENTIONS WILL HAVE NO POSITIVE RESULT. CONFLICT GENUINE, NOT ARTIFICIAL, AND SADAT'S INITIATIVE CAN NOT RESOLVE ISSUE. BEGIN, HAYKAL OBSERVED, IS CLEAR, CONSISTENT MAN CARRYING OUT PLATFORM ON WHICH HE ELECTED PRIME MINISTER. BEGIN HAS ALWAYS SAID THERE NO SEPARATION BETWEEN ISRAELI PEOPLE AND TERRITORY OF ISRAEL, BY WHICH HE MEANS JUDEA, SAMARIA AND OTHER LAND OUTSIDE BORDERS OF MANDATED PALESTINE. HAYKAL NOTES SOME IMAGICE U.S. WILL BRING PRESSURE TO BEAR, OR THAT BEGIN WILL BE OVERTHROWN. THIS POSSIBLE BUT, HE ASKED RHETORICALLY, WHAT IS WEIZMAN'S PLAN FOR SOLVING CRISIS? MAXIMUM SADAT'S INITIATIVE COULD POSSIBLY ACHIEVE, HAYKAL MAINTAINED, IS UNILATERAL AGREEMENT BETWEEN EGYPT AND ISRAEL--AND THIS IS SOMETHING EGYPT HAS REJECTED IN ADVANCE.

5. INTERNAL. HAYKAL CONCLUDED "INTERVIEW" WITH OBSERVATION THAT EGYPT CANNOT BECOME TRUE DEMOCRACY UNTIL WORKERS ENJOY RIGHHT EXPRESS THEMSELVES THROUGH POLITICAL PARTIES BUT OBSERVED "THIS WILL TAKE SOME TIME."

HE ADVOCATED FREEDOM FOR PARTIES, INCLUDING RIGHT PUBLISH OWN NEWSPAPER, BUT CLAIMED PRESS ONLY FREE TO ATTACK THE PAST; "NAMELY THE THOUGHT, POLICY AND PERSON OF NASSER." NEVERTHELESS, HAYKAL DENIED HE PLANNING JOIN THOSE ATTEMPTING ESTABLISH NASSERIST PARTY.

6. SETTLEMENT. ELSEWHERE, AL-AHALI ALLEGED CARTER GOVERNMENT TOO WEAK TO MAKE PROPOSALS ON ME SETTLEMENT PRIOR TO BEGIN VISIT TO VU WASHINGTON. ONLY DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES POSSIBLE, PAPER CLAIMED, WILL BE VAGUE STATEMENT ACKNOWLEDGING THAT PRINCIPLES WILL BE POSTPONED FOR SOME YEARS ALONG LINES DEFERRED RESOLUTION WEST BANK AND GAZA SOVEREIGNTY QUESTION. FINALLY, PAPER ALLEGED USG SEEKING AIRBASE AND NAVAL FACILITY LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 04 CAIRO 11181 01 OF 02 200440Z

IN SINAI AS PART OF SETTLEMENT.

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PAGE 01 CAIRO 11181 02 OF 02 210513Z  
ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05  
H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02  
SS-15 ICA-11 IO-13 SSM-03 OMB-01 ACDA-12 EB-08  
OES-07 COME-00 TRSE-00 /130 W  
-----119031 210524Z /14

R 200426Z APR 78  
FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8163  
INFO AMCONSUL ALEXANDRIA  
AMEMBASSY AMMAN  
USINT BAGHDAD  
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS  
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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 02 OF 02 CAIRO 11181

7. COMMENT: GOVERNMENT HAS SURPRISED MANY BY ALLOW-  
ING SECOND INSTALLMENT TO APPEAR. PRESS, EARLIER THIS  
WEEK, SUGGESTED HAYKAL BEING PERMITTED PUBLISH TO ALLOW  
LOCAL JOURNALISTS CONFRONT HIM DIRECTLY, RATHER THAN  
ATTEMPTING ANSWER CHARGES APPEARING IN BEIRUT AND  
ELSEWHERE. WE SUSPECT HE IS IN FOR SOME VILIFICATION.  
NEVERTHELESS, "INTERVIEWS" HAVE GENERATED CONSIDERABLE  
INTEREST AMONG INTELLECTUALS AND BOOSTED AL-AHALI'S  
CLAIM TO REPRESENT INFLUENTIAL LEFTISTS. EILTS

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## Message Attributes

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**Capture Date:** 01 jan 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, PRESS CONFERENCES, ALLEGATIONS, FORM OF GOVERNMENT  
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**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 20 apr 1978  
**Decaption Date:** 01 jan 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
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**Disposition Remarks:**  
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**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** N/A  
**Errors:** N/A  
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**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 4  
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**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
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**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
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**SAS ID:** 2907762  
**Secure:** OPEN  
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**Subject:** HAYKAL RENEWS ATTACK  
**TAGS:** SOPN, PGOV, PBOR, EG, IS, US, (HAYKAL, MUHAMMAD HASANAYN)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
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**Review Markings:**  
Sheryl P. Walter  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
20 Mar 2014  
**Markings:** Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014